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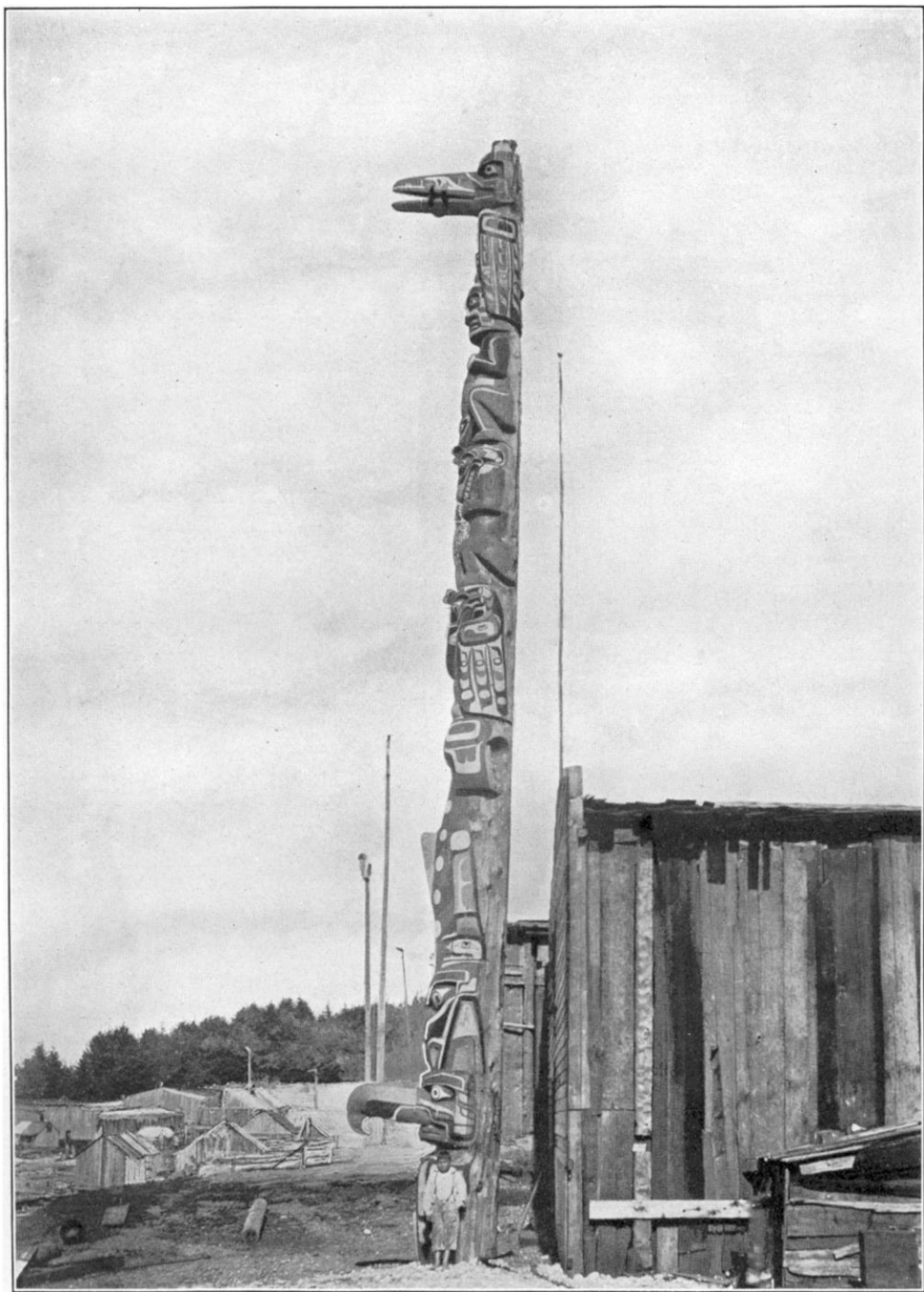
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WISHOSK MYTHS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Wishosk Indians of the coast of Humboldt County, in north-western California, inhabited a very restricted territory. They held the shores of Humboldt Bay, on which the city of Eureka is now situated, and the mouths of Mad and Eel rivers. Their frontage on the ocean extended a few miles north and south of these rivers with a total length of about thirty-five miles, all of it flat and sandy. Inland their territory extended in general to the top of the first range of hills, nowhere more than twelve or fifteen miles from the ocean, and for the most part varying in distance between five and ten. Their own name for themselves as a linguistic group is Sualtelek. Wishosk they declare to be the name that some of their Athabascan neighbors give them. Most of the tribes of the region know them or their territory by some variation of the name Wiyot, which is one of the few native geographical or tribal names in northern California that is without apparent signification and known to a number of linguistic groups. Roughly speaking, the territory of the Wishosk surrounds Humboldt Bay, and popularly they are usually known as Humboldt Bay Indians. Their territory was entirely covered, almost down to the beach, with redwood, and this fact, combined with the circumstance that Humboldt Bay is the only sheltered harbor on the coast of California north of San Francisco, has made this bay the centre of population for Humboldt and the contiguous parts of adjacent counties. Almost all the traffic between this region and the outside world, including a large lumber export, passes through the prosperous settlements on this harbor; for the district is as yet unconnected with the rest of the State by railroad, and other than trails only three wagon-roads lead out from it. In consequence, while the narrow valleys and canyons of the Klamath and Trinity and other rivers of this region were early overrun by miners, the white population along these streams being much greater forty or fifty years ago than it is now, where in many parts the Indians are



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still in the majority, conditions have been very different on Humboldt Bay, where there have been permanent settlement and steady development of the country. The greater half of the population and of the productive agricultural land of Humboldt County is probably within the small territory that once belonged to the Wishosk. Naturally these Indians have suffered from this overwhelming contact with civilization. Their numbers have been reduced very much more than on the Klamath and Trinity, and their old life has almost entirely disappeared. They now live like their white neighbors, and an occasional basket, usually made for sale, is about the only visible evidence of their culture of fifty years ago that one is likely to find among them. They number all told a few dozen, with hardly any children. On the whole they present a greater aspect of physical infirmity than the other tribes of this region. Most of what could have once been learned about them ethnologically has perished, and the broken and incomplete nature of their myths, as they remain, is only too evident from the material here presented. It is possible that individuals with better knowledge of the old beliefs are still alive, but of the six or eight persons, all of them of middle age or more, with whom work was attempted, some knew nothing, and not one had any knowledge that went very far.

In general culture the Wishosk resembled the other tribes of the region which constitutes the northwesternmost corner of California. It must be borne in mind that the culture of this comparatively small area is very different from that of the rest of the State, showing certain affiliations with the culture of the coast to the north, and being in many respects unique. These special characteristics are not each confined to a single tribe or group, but for the most part are common to all the tribes in the region. As compared with this distinct northwestern culture, the Indians of at least the greater part of the remainder of California, in spite of their numerous divisions, must be considered a unit in their culture. On the material and technological side of their life the Wishosk were certainly very similar to the other tribes in the northwestern ethnographical province. Their houses and boats, their tools and basketry, were practically identical with those found on the Klamath and Trinity. In other respects, especially on the religious side, there were greater differences. The northwestern culture finds its highest development and greatest specialization among the Yurok living along the Klamath from Weitchpec down, among the Karok on the same river above Weitchpec, and among the Hupa on the confluent Trinity from Weitchpec up for some twenty-five miles. For instance, it was only these three tribes that held the elaborate deerskin dance; and the almost equally important jumping or woodpecker-head dance did

not extend far beyond their borders. The position of the Wishosk is illustrated by the fact that they held the jumping dance only at the mouth of Mad River at the northernmost end of their territory, where they were in contact with the Yurok. In other places other ceremonies were held. Whether these were similar to the ceremonies of the tribes to the south and southeast, or whether they were largely peculiar to the Wishosk, is not known. The food and daily habits of the Wishosk, who lived along flat ocean shores backed by heavy timber, must of necessity have been somewhat different from those of the other tribes of the region, who lived along permanent and rapid rivers, or rocky coasts, or grassy and oak-covered hillsides ; but such differences due directly to locally varying environment need hardly to be taken into consideration where the fundamental characteristics of cultures are in question.

A considerable body of the myths of the Indians of northwestern California have been collected, but as yet there is no published material of any value available other than a number of stories in the first part of Dr. P. E. Goddard's *Hupa Texts*.¹ The first five of these, including a long creation and culture-hero story, may be regarded as typical also of the mythology of the other more developed tribes of the region, these five myths all being found, either in whole or in part, among the Yurok or Karok or both. One of the most fundamental characteristics of the mythological beliefs of these three tribes is the idea of a former distinct race, conceived of as very human in nature although endowed with supernatural powers, who inhabited the world before the coming of men, and then either left the inhabited world to become spirits or turned into animals. This race is the Kixúnai of the Hupa. In a general way this previous race is held responsible by the Indians for everything now existing in the world, and it is often stated that all the characters in myths were members of it. Actually this idea is carried out very inconsistently, and does not seem to have been used by any tribe to work the body of its myths into a system ; and so, as a matter of fact, origins are generally explained simply by growth or appearance in the time of this previous race. The most prominent characters in the several mythologies are one or more culture-heroes, of whom the Hupa Yimantuwiñyai, "Lost-across-the-ocean," by another name "Old-man-over-across," is a typical illustration, except for the fact that he approaches a little more closely to being a creator than do his analogues among the Yurok or Karok. The Yurok and Karok characters that correspond to him are called "Widower-across-the-water." The stories almost universally told about him include among their

¹ *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, i. 1904.

chief incidents accounts of how he obtained by trickery salmon from the woman who was keeping them shut up ; of how he first brought about birth, women having been previously killed at the birth of their children ; of how he tried to kill his son by causing him to climb a tree, in order that he might obtain his wife ; of how his son thereupon left the world for the one across the sea ; and how he himself was finally carried off to the same place after having succumbed to the temptation of a woman who was a flat fish. This character is always represented as erotic and tricky, but does not show the other despicable qualities, such as gluttony and cowardice, usually attributed to Coyote, and often to the trickster in the mythologies of other tribes. A second culture-hero, who is more respected, is primarily a destroyer of evil beings ; but in the common versions he has less part in the shaping of the world. A third character, whose function and importance vary considerably even in myths told by different individuals of the same tribe, is the dentalium-shell. Occasionally this personage is raised to the rank of a creator. Coyote appears fairly frequently, but, although he sometimes destroys monsters, is usually of contemptible character. The myths in which the culture-heroes do not appear are of course of very varied character, but the most typical are mainly hero stories of a certain sort. In the great majority of these the hero is distinctly conceived of as human and is not identified with an animal. This is evident in such Hupa stories as "Dug-from-the-Ground" and "He-lives-South." Among the Yurok there are exceedingly few animal characters ; among the Karok they are more numerous. These heroes are very rarely destroyers of monsters or enemies. In most cases their achievements are of such a nature as rising from a state of oppression to great wealth and power, or receiving and establishing a ceremony. The two Hupa stories just mentioned are typical of this class of tales. The idea so prevalent on the North Pacific coast, and at least in parts of California, of a hero encountering and overcoming direct dangers, is very little developed in this region. It also appears from what has been said that the hero myths sometimes grade insensibly into ceremonial origin myths.

The myths of the great central region of California contain some incidents and ideas found also in the northwestern part of the State, but on the whole are of a very different character ; and, as compared with the northwestern myths, they show considerable uniformity from all sections. Mythological material from the Wintun, Maidu, and Yana, of the Sacramento valley, has been published by Curtin¹ and Dixon ;² and other material, not yet published, has been col-

¹ *Creation Myths of Primitive America*, Boston, 1898 (Northern Wintun and Yana).

² Maidu Myths, *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvii. pt. ii. 33-118, 1902.

lected from the Pomo, the Yuki, and other stocks, including in part those of the south central portion of the State. Generally these Indians have a well-developed idea of a creator, such as the Wintun Ollelbis and the Maidu Earth-Initiate or Earth-Namer. Both the powers and deeds of this creator distinguish him quite markedly from the culture-heroes of the northwestern region. The character next in consequence, and usually more frequently mentioned in stories, is Coyote. In certain cases, as among the Maidu, he is more or less antithetical to the creator, bringing death and other evils into the world, though through foolishness rather than from malicious intent. In other cases, as among the Yuki, this relation between him and the creator is replaced or added to by a division of their functions, by which the creator is the author of the world and of mankind, while Coyote originates what is characteristic of life and culture. In this phase he is virtually equivalent to a culture-hero. Sometimes his rôle in this capacity is so much developed as to reduce the actual part of the creator in the myths to a very slight element. In all cases, however, at least in northern central California, there seems to be a conception of a single supreme or original creator, however much or little he may appear in the myths, and this conception can be said to be totally wanting among the northwestern tribes. In addition to his other rôles, Coyote invariably appears in the central region as a trickster and a butt for ridicule. The myths of central California that do not refer to the origin of things may be characterized as danger stories. Sometimes the life of the hero is attempted by his father-in-law, or by the enemies that have killed all his family; sometimes he is of supernatural birth and powers, and his achievements consist in destroying numerous monsters and evil beings and overcoming a hostile supernatural gambler. In very many cases the characters in the myths are animals. A very favorite and typical story found over the greater part of California is that of the two deer children whose mother had been killed by a grizzly bear and who in revenge killed the bear's two children, and then fled and finally escaped from their pursuer. The idea of a previous race occurs in central California, as pointed out by Curtin, but differs from the conception of the northwestern tribes. The individuals of this race generally turn to animals, and very frequently, as they appear in the myths, have animal qualities even before the transformation which marks the close of this earlier period. On the whole, the idea of such a previous race is much more clearly defined among the northwestern Indians, but does not affect their myths; in central California the idea is less clear, but is more frequently used to systematize the myths of a tribe.

In summary, the mythologies of the two ethnographical regions

can be contrastingly characterized as follows. In northern California there prevail conceptions of an earlier race parallel to mankind and of origin by growth or appearance, culture-heroes, human hero stories, and the explanation of the origin chiefly of human institutions. In central California the mythologies show a creator, accounts of the creation of nature and of physical rather than of social man, Coyote as a trickster and marplot to the creator or as a supplementary culture-hero-creator, numerous animal tales, and supernatural hero or danger stories. In both regions historical or pseudo-historical traditions and migration legends are lacking.

The mythology of the tribes immediately adjacent to the Wishosk is very little known. On the north the Wishosk are bordered by the Coast Yurok, who hold a strip of shore line as narrow as the Wishosk. The mythology of the Coast Yurok in great part lacks the culture-hero stories of the Klamath River Yurok, and seems to be characterized even more strongly by their peculiar type of human hero stories. On all other sides, except the ocean, the Wishosk are surrounded by a group of Athabascan tribes, which extend from immediately south and west of the Hupa as far as to the Wailaki, who are in Mendocino County in contact with the Yuki. Almost all the tribes in this group inhabit the interior rather than the immediate coast, and are as much reduced in numbers as the Wishosk themselves. They are very little known. In their general material culture they undoubtedly resemble to a considerable degree the more highly organized Yurok, Karok, and Hupa, with allowance for such differences as are directly due to a different natural environment. In their beliefs, however, so far as known, they approximate the tribes of the central region. It is certain that the ideas of a creator and of Coyote in his antithetical relation to the creator, as they exist among the central tribes, are found at least among the more southerly of these Indians, being known to occur as far north as lower Eel River; and in accord with this circumstance there does not seem to exist among the Indians in this place any strongly developed idea of a previous race.

The Wishosk myths here presented give but a broken idea of what the beliefs of these people must have been fifty years ago. Even as they are, however, they bring out several salient characteristics of this mythology. The collection is too incomplete to allow of deductions based on the absence of any mythical incidents or conceptions; but it suffices for certain comparisons with other tribes.

The stories were obtained from the following informants: Nos. 1 to 6 from a man named Bob; Nos. 7 to 8 and 10 to 19 from an old man called Bill; No. 9 from an old woman; Nos. 20, 21, 23, and 25 from Jennie; and Nos. 22 and 24 from her husband, Aleck. The first informant was utterly unable to give any connected accounts;

the material presented in the first creation myth has been collected from incoherent statements which occupied him the greater part of a day to make and in part were not to the point. This man had been somewhat influenced by the religious ideas of the whites. For this reason the information obtained from him has been separated from that of the other informants, but on the whole it is undoubtedly good Wishosk. This is evident from a comparison of his account of the creation as given in No. 1 with that told by Bill in No. 7. Nos. 2 and 10 also show considerable similarity, with some differences.

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of these myths is the important rôle assigned to the creator and supreme deity, Gudatrigakwitl, "Above-old-man." Sometimes he is also called Gurugudatrigakwitl, "That-above-old-man." It will be seen that he represents a well-developed idea of true creation. He cannot be included in the class of culture-heroes, but is distinctly a deity. The general statements made by other informants confirm the conception of this character as he appears in the two creation stories and leave no doubt that the idea of him is purely aboriginal. In accord with this occurrence of a creator deity is the absence among the Wishosk, so far as known, of the typical northwestern conception of the previous race.

The presence of a creator should naturally reduce the functions of a culture-hero, and to a certain extent this is the case among the Wishosk. Nevertheless, their culture-hero-trickster, Gatswokwire, corresponds quite closely to the chief culture-hero of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa. Like these characters, he is responsible for the origin of birth and of the distribution of fish, and is carried across the ocean by a woman. The Wishosk myth material obtained is as a whole so fragmentary that there is every reason to believe that the tales dealing with this character are not exhausted, and it seems very probable that if more myths are obtained further incidents told of him by the other tribes will come to light. Coyote also appears in the Wishosk myths, but only in his lower character.

The Wishosk myths not connected primarily with the origin of the world and culture can best be characterized as animal stories. The incidents in them are frequently trivial, but almost always show character. The number of animals appearing as personages in this small collection of myths is rather remarkable, reaching thirty besides Coyote, namely: the spider, otter, frog, mole, panther, fisher, fox, raccoon, wildcat, civet cat, dog, blue jay, meadowlark, blackbird, robin, sea lion, grizzly bear, crow, eagle, eel, sea otter, porpoise, raven, pelican, skunk, flies, elk, chicken-hawk, and abalone, besides the insect spinagaralu. All the tales other than the creator, culture-hero, and Coyote myths belong to this class of animal stories, except the last two given, which are human hero stories. These two stories are very

similar in their ideas and tone to those most characteristic of the Hupa, Yurok, and Coast Yurok. It will, however, be observed that both of them also contain animals as characters.

Passing now to specific comparisons between myths of the Wishosk and other tribes, tales 1 and 7 are without parallel among the northwestern tribes, because these lack creation myths. Of the two Wishosk versions of the origin of death, No. 2 resembles closely that of the Yurok, while No. 10 is similar to that of the Yuki, Maidu, and other tribes of central California. The Athabascan Sinkine of Eel River also tell the story in similar form. No. 3, the flood, also finds analogues to the south, rather than on the Klamath or Trinity. The typical northwestern conception is that one survivor was saved from the flood in a boat or box, with his dog. The Sinkine, however, say that a couple was saved on a mountain-top, and, according to Bancroft,¹ the Mattole, an Athabascan tribe still nearer the Wishosk, had a similar belief. Nos. 4, 5, and 6, dealing with Gatswokwire, are all told of the northwestern culture-heroes. No. 8 is without an exact parallel, but the idea of the spider reaching the sky, or descending from it, by the string which he makes, occurs among the Sinkine and certain of the tribes of the northern Sacramento valley region. The idea of No. 11, that the mole's forefeet are turned from having held the sky, is again a central Californian conception not known to occur in the northwestern region. The Yuki and other tribes tell the incident. No. 12, in which the culture-hero-trickster changes his shape in order to be given food several times, is widespread in North America. Nos. 13 and 14, telling of Coyote's attempts to marry, show character rather than well-defined incidents. No. 15, in which the Coyote breaks his leg in supposed imitation of the panther, has partial parallel among some of the northwestern tribes, but similar ideas occur among Indians far east of California. No. 16, in which Coyote is stuck in a stream of pitch, is without known specific parallel. No. 15 is evidently a fragment of a longer myth. The Yurok and Karok tell a form of the widespread story of the origin of fire by theft. The Hupa deny this, and it is seen that the Wishosk agree with them. The idea of the dog having fire and of his refusing it to the panther is related to a Yurok and Karok conception, according to which the dog surpassed both the deer and the panther in a contest of powers, thereby obtaining for mankind the bow with which to kill animals. The idea of something distinctly human as opposed to animal faculties having its origin from the one domestic animal in opposition to other animals, is what is common to this Yurok and Karok myth and the present Wishosk fragment. Nos. 18, 19, and 20 are as yet all without parallels, though their general character distinctly

¹ *Native Races*, iii. 86.

resembles that of myths from central California. No. 21, in which the raven catches a woman, is a distant approach to the swan-maiden story. No. 22 is again an animal character tale. The idea of No. 23, that the skunk pretends sickness and shoots the summoned medicine-man, has parallels outside of California. As yet the conception is not known to have been utilized by the northwestern tribes. No. 24, telling of an oppressed boy who became powerful, is more similar in general character than in specific incidents to Yurok tales. No. 25, telling of a man who was carried across the ocean, is very similar to a number of northwestern versions even in details. For instance, the Yurok tell of ten men crossing the ocean nightly in a boat, and the idea that the world across the ocean is one of unceasing dances is deep-seated among them.

It will be seen that the mythology of the Wishosk occupies a place between the mythologies of central and those of northwestern California, sharing with one a considerable development of creation myth and animal tales, and with the other especially certain episodes of a specific culture-hero cycle. The greater number of actual parallels seem to be with the central tribes. The general character of the mythology and the conceptions underlying it are also more closely akin to those found in central California than those among the distinctly northwestern tribes. The occurrence of almost exact parallels between the Wishosk and the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa culture-hero stories can be explained by the great importance of these myths among the latter tribes and the close geographical proximity, and in part contiguity, of these to the Wishosk. Altogether it would seem that this tribe, although in its material life and in its social structure clearly most nearly related to the other northwestern tribes, is in its religious beliefs so far different from them as to be closer, all in all, to the great central group of stocks occupying the larger part of the State. The extreme localization of the typical northwestern culture is thus apparent, and it is evident that unless, as does not seem probable, its culture has close affiliations with the Athabascan tribes along the immediate coast northward from the mouth of the Klamath, its most characteristic development is confined to the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

I. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND THE CREATION.

At first there were no trees nor rivers and no people on the earth. Nothing except ground was visible. There was no ocean. Then Gudatrigakwitl was sorry that it was so. He thought, "How is it that there are no animals?" He looked, but he saw nothing. Then he deliberated. He thought, "I will try. Somebody will live on the earth. But what will he use?" Then he decided to make a boat

for him. He made things by joining his hands and spreading them. He used no tools. In this way he made people. The first man was wat, the abalone. The first people were not right. They all died. Gudatrigakwitl thought that they were bad. He wanted good people who would have children. At first he wanted every man to have ten lives.¹ When he was an old man he was to become a boy again. Afterwards Gudatrigakwitl found that he could not do this. He gave the people all the game, the fish, and the trees. He said: "As long as people live, if an old man will tell his boy about me it will be as if I were there, for he will tell him, 'Do not do so and so.'"

In other places there are different people, but they were all made by Gudatrigakwitl at one time, all over the world. That is why there are different tribes with different languages. So the old men used to say.

When Gudatrigakwitl wanted to make people, he said, "I want fog." Then it began to be foggy. Gudatrigakwitl thought: "No one will see it when the people are born." Then he thought: "Now I wish people to be all over, broadcast. I want it to be full of people and full of game." Then the fog went away. No one had seen them before, but now they were there.

Gudatrigakwitl used no sand or earth or sticks to make the people; he merely thought and they existed. (In answer to a question.)

Gudatrigakwitl thought: "When something is alive, like a plant, it will not die. It will come up again from the roots and grow again and again. So it will be with men and animals and everything alive."

Gudatrigakwitl said to the people: "This kind of plant is medicine for you. When something is wrong, or when a person is sick, call to me." Whatever he made is good.

Gudatrigakwitl said: "I want it to be that there will be dances. When they begin, people will call me. I want them to call me then. At that time I will make them have a dance." That was the word that he left to the people. That is why the people dance near the mouth of Mad River.

Gudatrigakwitl said: "If it is warm and you are hot and the water is cold, do not drink or you will die. Drink only a little of it." Therefore the people say, "Do not drink too much." They say the same about food. Gudatrigakwitl told them: "Do not forget my instructions."

Gudatrigakwitl made string for people. String is a person.

Gudatrigakwitl thought: "How shall I make deer? I think I will make them like this." Then he made deer.

At first there were no acorns growing. Gudatrigakwitl made them also.

¹ Cf. Nos, 2, 7, 10.

Gudatrigakwitl also made it that people pay when some one is killed.

At first there was no fire. Gudatrigakwitl thought : "What shall we do? There is no fire." He took a stick, spat on it, and it began to burn.¹

Gudatrigakwitl left the people all kinds of dances. He said : "When there is a festivity, call me. If some do not like what I say, let them be. But those to whom I leave my instructions, who will teach them to their children, will be well. Whenever you are badly off, call me. I can save you in some way, no matter how great the difficulty. If a man does not call me, I will let him go." So he left dances and good times. That is why the people dance. They used never to miss making a dance.

Gudatrigakwitl went all over the world looking. Then he made everything. When he had finished everything he made people.

Gudatrigakwitl is not called on every day. He is called only when a man is in difficulty.

Whatever things must not be said or done are forbidden because Gudatrigakwitl so directed in the beginning.

Gudatrigakwitl is alive to-day. He does not die. He does not become sick. He is the same as formerly. As long as the world exists he will live. The reason some people (Indians) are still alive is because some of them still follow his word a little. Therefore they tell their children : "Do not do so and so." Gudatrigakwitl has a good place to live in, where it is shining and light. There is no darkness there. It is white there, but never black. He does not like the dark. There are flowers there. He is alone. Whatever he thinks exists.

Gudatrigakwitl said : "This sort of cloud will make rain ; this kind will make snow ; when there is this kind it will be very warm." That is how the people know the weather.

Gudatrigakwitl made everything by wanting it. He did not work with his hands.

When a man wants to go on the ocean and it is rough, he takes a stick and strikes the water several times and says : "Gudatrigakwitl, you made people be born long ago. You made it that they go on the water. I want it to be calm now." Then he launches his boat. When he is going to land again, he says : "Stop the waves for a little while."

2. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND SPINAGARALU.

Gudatrigakwitl said : "I want people to live so that an old man will be a boy again over and over again, and everybody will live ten

¹ Cf. No. 17.

times." One who was evilly disposed said : "Ha ! I do not want them to live." Gudatrigakwitl said : "I do not want that, I want it only as I say. I want them to have ten lives." The one who wanted people to die is called Spinagaralu. He is one of the vakirashk, the bad ones. He is an insect that lives in the ground. It is wingless and dark and has long arms like a spider. People kill it when they see it. It is bad and must not be played with.

3. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND THE FLOOD.

Gudatrigakwitl thought : "I do not know what people will do." He made a great flood. He wanted to destroy the people, to sweep them off, so that there would be new people, better ones. The first people were bad. That is why he made the flood. Then he made people again. Only three mountain peaks projected above the water. One was Yerved'hi, Bald Mountain near Redwood Creek ; another was Shelton Butte (a not very high but prominent peak on the Klamath River, between Orleans and Weitchpec) ; the third was Bear River Mountain (or a peak in that vicinity). From this flood are the lakes in the mountains and the plants in the lakes. From it also are the shells in the mountains. Before the flood the earth was smooth and flat without mountains.

4. GATSWOKWIRE.

After the world was made by Gudatrigakwitl and there were many people, Gatswokwire, or Rakshuatlaketl, went about. He was foolish. He made women pregnant by his supernatural power. Gudatrigakwitl made the world and Gatswokwire went about afterwards. He was not bad ; he did not kill people, but sometimes he thought about a woman : "I wish you were pregnant," and then she was pregnant.

Gatswokwire always wanted to see the people dance. He helped them make their dance, then went on. He had many medicines. Most medicines (probably formulas) belong to him. If he was drowned he came to life again. People would tell him : "Do not go there." He would say : "I can go there ; they cannot harm me." Then he would go.

Gatswokwire was always following women. The first time he went about he found no women. Later he found many women. As he went about he would see people holding a small child, but there never was a mother. He saw this often. Then he thought : "What is the matter that the babies have no mothers ?" He came to the middle of the world. Then he saw a woman being held by the arms. A man had a flint and was ready to cut her open to take out her child. In this way people were born. Gatswokwire did not like this. It was the first time that he saw it. He said : "Stop ! Wait !"

He thought: "I know why it is that the children have no mothers." He went outside and sat down. He thought: "It is too bad that they do like that to women. They kill too many." He looked and saw a plant. He took it. He threw it into the house and at once the baby cried.¹ So now children are born and women are no longer cut open. Therefore women in labor call Gatswokwire.

5. GATSWOKWIRE AND THE ORIGIN OF SALMON.

Gatswokwire took seeds of the madroña that look like salmon eggs. There were no fish in the world. Gudatrigakwitl had not let them out. He wanted to keep them a little longer. Gatswokwire, carrying the dry seeds, came to where the fish were kept. There he took them out. Then the one that was keeping the fish thought: "Oh, they are already out. They are about the world." The fish were kept in a hollow rock, all kinds of them. Gudatrigakwitl had made them. Gatswokwire came there because he wanted the fish to be all over the world. Gudatrigakwitl thought: "Well, let it be. Let him make them be all over the world." Then it was foggy and no one saw how the fish went out. Then the sun shone again. Gatswokwire went on and came to a place and saw fish. He came to another place and saw many fish there too. Some of the people had spears, some had set nets, some dip nets. Then he was glad. But Gudatrigakwitl had done it. Some say that the person who kept the fish was a woman, some say that it was a man.

6. GATSWOKWIRE CARRIED ACROSS THE OCEAN.

When Gatswokwire first went about he found no women. Then later he found ralowitlikwi (a flat fish, probably the skate). She lay on the beach with her legs spread. Gatswokwire thought he could use her. He began to have intercourse with her, when she turned over and carried him off across the sea. She took him to the other side and left him there. Then Gatswokwire, regaining consciousness, thought: "What place is this? Where have I gone to?" He started back, walking on the water. So he came to this world again. Then he went about as before, looking for women. The skate had lain there to carry him off, but did not succeed in keeping him away from this world.

7. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND THE CREATION.

Everything was water. Gurugumatrigakwitl thought: "It is bad that there is no land, but all water." That is why he made this earth. He took a little dust and blew it. Then there was land all about. He looked over it and nobody was there. Then he thought. He thought:

¹ Having been born immediately through the power of the medicine.

"I will make some one to be about." He made a man. His name was Chkekowik. When he was finished he let him go. He gave him bow and arrow. It did not look well to Gurugudatrigakwitl to see the man going about alone. He thought again and said: "I will make another one." Then he made a woman. When she was grown he let her go and gave her to the man to go with him. Then they went together, the man first, the woman behind. Therefore women follow men. Then Gurugudatrigakwitl thought: "What will he kill to eat?" Then he made elk for him. He made two female elk and a bull elk. Then Chkekowik saw them. He thought: "There are elk; I will kill them." Gurugudatrigakwitl gave them to him to kill and he thought: "I will kill them." Just as boys want to kill everything they see, so Chkekowik was.

Gurugudatrigakwitl made all fishes, birds, and animals. He had them covered up in a round basket, dalitlen. He took them out one by one, set them down, and they ran off.

Gurugudatrigakwitl makes snowstorms in winter by shaking his head. Snow comes out from his hair and there is snow over the world.

He made old people young again by sneezing. He thought: "I want them to be young," and sneezed, and they were young. He sneezed and made old clothing and skins new.¹

He can make all the deer come to him. He makes the white deer by chewing deer tendon. It swells and grows in his mouth. He spits it out and says: "Hello, white deer." Soon he raises it up on the end of a stick. Then it goes off as a white deer. He keeps it in the sky. Therefore a poor man does not kill it. If a man is rich, Gurugudatrigakwitl may let him see the white deer and kill it.

8. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND THE SPIDER.

The spider was here on this earth without any way of catching flies and other insects. He went up to Gurugudatrigakwitl. He asked him to make him a means of catching them. Gurugudatrigakwitl told him: "Sit here for a time and work for me." Then he gave him a string to make. The spider put some into his mouth and swallowed it. He continued to swallow string. He kept it in his large belly until he had a great quantity. Gurugudatrigakwitl saw him and knew what he was doing, but thought: "Let him keep it if he wants it so much." Then the spider thought: "There is no way to get down from here." So he drew the end of the string from his mouth, tied it fast, and then let himself down, going farther and farther. When he reached the earth here he made his webs and caught flies and lived.

¹ Cf. Nos. 1, 2, 10.

9. GUDATRIGAKWITL AND THE OTTER.

The otter ate Gurugudatrigakwitl's fish. Gurugudatrigakwitl knew it was he who had done it. He told him: "Now live in the water and eat fish."

10. THE FROG AND SPINAGARALU.

The frog had a single child. Spinagaralu had one child. The frog's child became sick. It died. The frog saw that it was dead. He went to Spinagaralu and said: "What do you think? My child is dead." Spinagaralu said: "Well, let it be dead." The frog was sorry. He did not want to see his child dead. After a time the child of Spinagaralu became sick too. Then he too saw his child dead. Then he came to the frog's house. He said: "Well, what do you think?" The frog said: "It is all right. Let it be dead," and Spinagaralu went into the fire and burned himself dark; then he went into the ground.

If, when the frog's child died and he went to Spinagaralu, the latter had said: "It is too bad that your child is dead; let it live," then people would not die, but all would live. But Spinagaralu said: "Let it die," and then when his own child died, the frog said the same. That is why people die, die, die, and do not come back.

11. THE MOLE AND THE SKY.

The mole is ashamed to come out in the daytime. Once the sky fell and it held it up with its hand. Under the weight of the sky its hand turned bottom up. Hence its hand is twisted now.

12. GATSWOKWIRE EATS.

Gatswokwire as he was going met a woman carrying a basket full of boderush roots. Gatswokwire asked for some of them, and she gave them to him. They tasted good to him, so he made a circuit and headed off the woman so as to meet her again. This time he looked different. The old woman again gave him some roots. He ate all she gave him and then went on fast so as to meet her again. Again he had a different appearance and she thought him another man and gave him some more. After a time all her roots were gone. But it was he who had eaten them all. Then the old woman got home. Gatswokwire came to her house and said: "I am sick. I ate too many boderush." The woman said: "But I gave you only a few." "You gave me all you had," he said. "Oh! you were the same man?" she said. "Yes, I was the one."

13. GATSWOKWIRE AND COYOTE.

Two girls were living on top of a high hill. The hill was as steep

as a tree. The girls did not want anybody to come to them. They did not like men. Gatswokwire went to the hill. He failed to climb to where they were, and returned. Coyote was going about, always inquisitive. He came to where Gatswokwire lived and said to him: "I hear you would like to get those girls." "Yes, I tried to, but I cannot get up. I cannot get close to them," said Gatswokwire. "I will go with you," said Coyote. Next day Gatswokwire said: "Let us start. I want to see you climb up there." "Very well, I will go with you," said Coyote. When they reached the mountain, Coyote went ahead singing. He sang as he went on up. His song became broken by gasps. At last he fell over. He rolled down like a stone, and lay at the bottom. Gatswokwire started slowly. He reached the top. He took one of the girls and came down. Coyote was lying there asleep. Gatswokwire prodded him with a stick. Coyote awoke. "Well, did you get a girl?" "Yes, I got one." "Are there any more?" "Yes, the prettiest one is still there." "I will go to get her." "Yes, go on. You can reach the place easily." Then Coyote started to go up. He was part way. Then he began to dig in the ground; he saw mice. Gatswokwire called to him: "What is there down there? Do you see any girls down there?" Coyote said: "Yes, there are girls." The girl who was with Gatswokwire said to him: "I think he is no man." Gatswokwire said: "Oh, he goes everywhere. He has no home. He is always travelling looking for pleasure."

14. COYOTE MARRIES.

Coyote went north. He found a woman. He said: "I am very anxious to have a woman." The girl said: "I want a man." Coyote said: "You can have me. I am a fine man." The woman said: "Yes, you look like a fine man." Coyote said to her: "I will take you to my house." So they went. Coyote said: "Far off there, where you can see, is my house." The woman thought: "We will soon be there." They reached that place and Coyote said: "Oh, my house is farther on." They were going along near the beach and Coyote told her: "Sit down here." She sat and he went down to the beach. When he came back he said: "Come, let us go on. There is my house." When they came to that place Coyote said: "Oh, my house is farther on." The woman became very tired. Soon Coyote said to her again: "Sit down here and rest." Then he went down to the beach. This time she watched him from hiding, thinking: "What does he do when he goes off?" He was on the beach snapping at sand fleas and digging in the sand, seizing and eating what he found. She thought: "Oh, it is too bad! I thought he was a good man." Coyote came back and they went on.

He kept saying to her, "My house is farther on." It became night and they made a fire in the open and lay down. The woman did not sleep. Coyote snored. She got up and laid a rotten log on his arm and went off. In the morning Coyote awoke and thought he had the woman in his arm. He saw it was wood. Then he wanted to look for her. He spoke to his foot. "Where did that woman go?" he asked. He asked sticks: "Where is that woman?" The sticks did not answer him. He asked everything. The woman came back to her home. "What is wrong that you have come back?" asked her parents. "I am ashamed to tell you," she said. "Well, I did not think to have you come back," said her father. But Coyote sat on a sandhill. He dug in the ground looking for food, and cried and cried.

15. COYOTE BREAKS HIS LEG.

Coyote asked the panther: "Of what do you make your salmon harpoon?" The panther said: "I make it of deer leg bones." Coyote said: "Do not lie to me. I don't believe it." He kept asking the panther. At last the panther said: "Well, break your leg and use the bone for your harpoon." Coyote went home to his grandmother. He said: "I am going to break my leg to make a salmon harpoon. The panther told me how to do it." His grandmother told him: "He did not tell you that. You cannot do that." "Yes, he told me how to do it and I am going to," he said. Then he broke his leg for a salmon harpoon. That is why Coyote's right leg now is thin.

16. COYOTE STUCK IN THE PITCH.

Fisher, fox, panther, raccoon, civet-cat, and wildcat used to jump across a small ravine. The stream in this was not of water but of pitch. One after the other they would all jump across. Coyote said: "I want to go with you. I want to jump also." They told him: "You cannot do it." But he said: "I can." Fisher said: "You cannot run up a tree as I can, going around and around it." But Coyote said again that he could jump the stream. Wildcat said: "You will not be able to do it. Let me see how far you can jump." Then Coyote ran for him and jumped. "You will not be able to do it," said Wildcat. But Coyote insisted. When they went to jump again, Coyote said: "I will jump with you," and accompanied them. When they came to the place Coyote said: "My family used to do that." Then he jumped. He went well over the ravine. Then he turned and immediately jumped back across it. At once he jumped across it again, and just cleared it; jumping again he landed in the middle. He stuck fast and could not get out. Fisher said: "You

will not get off. I will not stay here waiting for you. It is no use. You will stay there." Coyote said : " No, my friends, do not leave me. I think I will get loose somehow." Fisher told him : " No, you will not get free. You will be born again." Then they all went off. Next day they came back. Coyote was gone ; only bones and fur were in his place. Fisher said : " Where is Coyote ? He is gone." Then from a little distance Coyote said : " Wo, I have been lying here sleeping." Then they asked him to jump again. But Coyote would not do it. He said : " You got the best of me." Fisher said : " I did not deceive you. I told you you would not do it. When one jumps across he should rest. Then after a while he can jump back. But you jumped back and forth and back. That is why you fell in."

17. THE DOG'S FIRE.

The panther asked the dog where he got fire. The dog said that he had no fire. He denied until the panther became angry. Then the dog became angry too, and, although he knew, would not tell the panther. So when the panther killed deer he ate them raw. The dog had two sticks. One of them had holes in it. In these he bored with the other stick. Even though there might be wind and rain he got fire.

18. THE BLUE JAY AND THE OTHER BIRDS.

The blue jay lived in the mountains on acorns. She gathered many acorns, and in winter constantly pounded them. The meadowlark, robin, and blackbird also lived on acorns, but when spring came they had nothing to eat. The blue jay put acorn meal on all her feathers. When she wanted to eat she would shake out a feather over a basket, and the basket filled with meal. When it was spring, and the meadowlark, the robin, and the blackbird looked about and could see nothing to eat, they went to the blue jay's house and each asked her : " Where do you keep your acorns all winter ?" Then the blue jay said : " I will tell you where I keep my acorns. Look." Then she lifted a feather. It was full of acorn meal. She lifted another, and it was full of meal. Every feather on her body was full. Then she shook some out, cooked it, and gave it to them to eat. The three others went to their houses and pounded acorns. They pounded a large quantity. Then they stood up and put the meal over their body. The meadowlark's little daughter became hungry. The meadowlark told her : " Heat the rocks." Then she took a basket, put it to her body, lifted a feather, shook it, and nothing came. Then she shook another and another but got nothing. The meal had all fallen off. Then the three went to the blue jay and asked her : " How do you make the acorn meal stick to your feathers ? What

myth (medicine formula) makes it so?" Blue jay said: "You are not able to do it. Even if I told you the myth you would not be able to do it." Then she gave them food again.

The three women also asked the blue jay how she made her acorn meal without leaching it. She said: "I take a handful of meal and rub it against my elbow." The birds went home, took freshly pounded meal, and cooked it without leaching it; but when they went to eat, it was still bitter.

19. THE SEA LION AND THE GRIZZLY BEAR.

The sea lion lay on the beach asleep. The grizzly bear came along the beach looking for something to eat. He saw the sea lion lying immovable and the flies going into his nostrils. He thought him dead and went to bite a piece off him. The sea lion jumped up. Seizing the grizzly bear by the back of the neck, he shook him to death. Then he went off into the ocean. The bear lay on the beach.

20. THE CROW, THE EAGLE, AND THE PORPOISES.

The crow was married to the eagle. He went off across the ocean to visit his niece, the eel, who was married there. He took his two children, a boy and a girl, the porpoises, with him. Out in the ocean he put them on a rock and left them. Then he came back. "What did you do with the children?" the eagle asked him. "They are in their grandmother's house," the crow told her. At night the boy came back. The crow ran off. The eagle asked her son how he had come back, and the boy told his mother: "My father put us on the rocks and left us. The sea-otter took me and brought me to land. My sister is dead." The eagle pursued the crow. She caught him and brought him back. She put him into the fire and burned him until he died.

21. THE RAVEN CATCHES A WOMAN.

The raven went to get a woman for another man. She was bathing and did not see him coming. While she swam he went on the sand and took her dress. When she came out she asked for her dress but he did not give it to her. She would go up to him to take it as he held it, but he would pull it away and she would follow him to get it. Thus they went until they came to where the people were. The raven sat down in the middle and the woman sat down opposite him. Then he said: "I do not want you." Then she went to another house where the man was who married her. When she had lived there some time her husband told her to go back. Her relatives, thinking her dead, had mourned for her, but when they saw her alive they were glad. "It is good. We are satisfied," they said.

22. THE PELICAN AND THE EAGLE.

The pelican used to catch fish where others caught them. He would take away their catch. For one year he took it. Then the eagle came. He thought: "It is not right to do that. I will look for him." They were catching surf fish with dip nets: and when the pelican took what they caught, the eagle came and said: "Why do you do that? You shall not do it any longer." He went out into the water to where the pelican was, seized him, and tore him to pieces. Then the others caught fish without being afraid.

23. THE SKUNK AND THE ELK.

The skunk pretended he was sick. The flies went to get the elk to doctor him. "The skunk is sick. The pain is in his anus," they said. The elk came and danced for him. He sang: "Delekotin, delekotinin." He began to suck him. Then the skunk shot and killed him. The flies were glad and rubbed their hands. "I am glad. I will eat elk," they said. They cut the elk up with their knives and ate. The skunk had done it. Now he was well. When they had eaten, the flies went home.

24. LAKUNOWOVITKATL.

Whenever a whale came ashore and there were many fires (of people) on the beach, Lakunowovitkatl always came, hoping to get food, but they always beat him away. All the time he asked for meat and tried to get it but they would not let him have it. Thus it always went. He came but they beat him and never fed him. Then Lakunowovitkatl thought: "They have done it to me often. What shall I do? I will go off to train myself." Then he went off to train. He went to a lake, where the spirits (yagalichirakw), who had seen him maltreated, helped him. Then he came back. Again a whale came ashore. He went to see if he could get food. He began to cut off from the whale. He stood in the water. One of them went up to him, but Lakunowovitkatl pushed him away. Again he went up. Lakunowovitkatl pushed him so that he fell down at a distance. Then he saw the dog coming to him, and pushed him so that he broke in two. Another dog came and he pushed him too and broke him. The chicken-hawk came, saying: "What is the matter with you? You are very strong. What have you been practising?" He broke him in two also. Another one came. "Where have you trained?" he asked. Him also he pushed and broke. Then they had enough and were afraid. They maltreated him no more. Now he would have a whale for himself. Whatever came ashore he owned. They were afraid of Lakunowovitkatl (also called Lakunowovitkats) and troubled him no more.

25. DIKWAGITERAI.

At Twutka dalagerili, on Eel river opposite Table Bluff, lived Dikwagiterai, an old man. He was not really old. He was alone and poor, and supported himself. Every night ten rich men went by in a boat down the river. They were the Watsayigeritl. They went in a large boat across the ocean, where they danced every night for a girl. Every night they said in ridicule to Dikwagiterai: "Come along. Come with us." He always thought to himself: "Why do you do that? You should not say that." He sang:—

"Shoungin dawitl rematvin, do not tell me to come with you."

Every night as they went by they said the same thing. Then he sang:—

"Shoungin tlilevilewal."

Then at last he said: "Well, stop. I am going with you." He shook his hair, and spread it out. It was combed fine. He was naked on account of being poor. Only he took down a belt from the corner of the house and put it on. Then they went across the ocean to Shure. The name of the girl for whom they danced was Hi-wat, abalone. She was also called Watswukerakwi. She was smooth and shiny like shell all over her body. Her father's name was Haleptlini. She was in a large house on a high rock, hidden by tule mats. She sat inside them as on a shelf, and did not move. All the rich men went into the house dressed up their finest with woodpecker-heads and dentalia. The Watsayigeritl went in, and after them Dikwagiterai, now the finest of all with woodpecker heads and dentalia. Then they danced. The ten Watsayigeritl danced like a party from one place competing against another, namely, Dikwagiterai. While they danced, singing, the girl did not stir. Then Dikwagiterai stood up and danced. He sang: "Hiloni wengiwin," and the girl jumped down from her place. The Watsayigeritl, ashamed at being surpassed, hurried out and went off in their boat. Dikwagiterai came after them and called to them: "Why do you go away without me? Stop. Come nearer." He told the girl: "Hold my belt behind." When the boat approached, he jumped into it, the woman holding behind. Then they went over the ocean. When they came into the river and to the place where he lived, he told them: "Let me out." When they approached the shore, he jumped to land, the woman holding to him by his belt. The Watsayigeritl went on up the river. Then Dikwagiterai was afraid that they would kill him and went to Dapeletgek, Arcata Bottom. There he made a good, smooth, grassy place to live. From there he went away to get dentalia to pay for his wife. He told her: "Look over the hill every morning for a large light, the morning star. This will be a sign that I am coming back that day." When he came back he

brought many dentalia. Then he went across the ocean to live, to Shure, where his wife was from, and paid for her in dentalia.

ABSTRACTS.

1. Above-old-man makes water, vegetation, animals, and man, and instructs man as to life.
2. He wants men to live ten times, but is unable to prevail against the underground insect spinagaralu, so that men die without returning.
3. Above-old-man destroys people with a flood, which covers all except three mountain peaks, and then makes a new race.
4. The culture-hero-trickster Gatswokwire makes medicine which enables women to bear children without being themselves killed.
5. He comes to the keeper of fish, and by pretending to have fish eggs secures the release of fish into the world.
6. He is carried across the ocean by a woman he finds on the beach.
7. Above-old-man makes the earth, man, and animals.
8. The spider descends from the sky by string he has made for Above-old-man and swallowed.
9. The otter eating Above-old-man's fish is told by him to live in the water.
10. The frog's child dying, the insect spinagaralu refuses to let it come to life again, and thus causes permanent death. When spinagaralu's child dies, the frog is obdurate.
11. The sky falls and the mole supports it with its hand, which becomes twisted.
12. The culture-hero-trickster Gatswokwire changes his form in order to obtain food from the same person repeatedly.
13. He and Coyote go to get women. He succeeds but Coyote fails and looks for food.
14. Coyote marries and takes away his wife. He has no home, but deceives the woman. She sees him looking for food and leaves him.
15. Coyote, troubling the panther as to the making of his harpoon point, is told to break his leg, which he does.
16. Coyote leaps with other animals across a stream of pitch. Overdoing the feat, he falls in, sticks, and dies. He returns to life.
17. The dog makes fire with the fire drill. He refuses to give it to the panther.
18. The blue jay has the power of shaking acorn meal from her feathers, and of leaching it supernaturally. Other women try to imitate her but fail.
19. The grizzly bear thinks the sea lion dead, but is killed by him.
20. The crow crosses the ocean and abandons his children on a rock. One of them returns, and the crow's wife, the eagle, burns him.
21. The raven takes a bathing woman's dress, and thus makes her follow him to the man who is to marry her.
22. The pelican deprives others of their catch of fish until he is killed by the eagle.

23. The skunk pretending to be sick, the elk is called as doctor, but is shot and killed by the skunk.

24. A poor boy is oppressed and starved. The spirits give him power and he overcomes his oppressors and is a prominent man.

25. A poor man accompanies ten rich men who cross the ocean nightly to dance. He surpasses them and wins a wife. After his return he procures dentalia to pay for her and goes back across the ocean with her to live.

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